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The Woman Voter and The Newsletter

Vol. IV. AUGUST, 1913. No. 8.

Victory 1915 in Brooklyn
BY
HARRIET T. COMSTOCK

Woman Suffrage from the Standpoint of a Jurist
BY
WILLIAM LITTLEFORD

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn
BY
JESSIE ASHLEY

Street Meetings
BY
ADALINE W. STERLING

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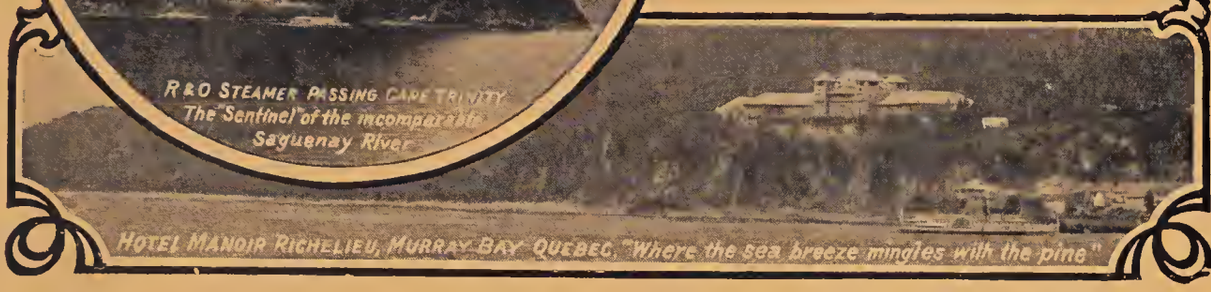

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THOSE who have attended tea-parties at the headquarters can attest to the excellent qualities of the Ceylon and Black teas served at these gatherings. Only after a tea-tasting contest held by the officers of the party were these teas admitted as specialties in the Suffrage Shop. They may be had for 60 cents a pound. The Shopping Department will gladly send you, prepaid, two small sample packages for 5 cents.

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National American Woman Suffrage Association

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The Woman Voter and The Newsletter

Organ of The Woman Suffrage Party and the
New York State Woman Suffrage Association

FLORENCE WOOLSTON, *Editor*

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CONTENTS

Victory 1915 !..... 7

Ellen Versus Ellen Key—Katharine Anthony 10

Victory 1915 in Brooklyn—
Harriet T. Comstock 11

Woman Suffrage from the Standpoint of a
Jurist—William Littleford..... 13

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn—Jessie Ashley..... 15
Illustration by Irma Deremeaux

The Street Meeting—Adaline W. Sterling... 17

The Suffrage Book-Shelf..... 19

Throughout the State..... 23

The Woman Suffrage Party Calendar..... 30

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THE LIBERTY BELLE

Our Voteless Commissioners It is an open secret that the so-called "best men" in social work are women. From the days of the somewhat restricted Lady Bountiful, through a long apprenticeship in charity and philanthropy, to these modern times of civic and industrial endeavor, women have played a conspicuous role in humanitarian effort. The names of our famous women, Clara Barton, Josephine Shaw Lowell and Jane Addams, are linked with the thought of service for the common good. Thus it is but a natural evolution that in these latter days, the State should recognize this capacity for public work and appoint women to some of the more important positions.

With the brilliant suffrage victories of the past month, came the news that in New York State Governor Sulzer had named several women to serve on new commissions. It is a great satisfaction to the unrepresented women of the State that in this period of waiting for enfranchisement, their point of view will be heard on the Prison Investigating Commission, the Industrial Board, the Commission for the Blind and the Widows' Pension Committee.

Governor Sulzer Has Judgment Members of the Woman Suffrage Party have especial cause for rejoicing in the appointment of the City Chairman, Miss Mary Garret Hay, to the new Prison Investigating Commission. Obviously, Governor Sulzer recognizes efficiency when he meets it, for Miss Hay is peculiarly qualified for the new work which has literally been thrust upon her. Aside from her wide experience in club work and women's activities, she has a first hand knowledge of prison problems from her service on the Board of Managers of the Bedford Reformatory.

Although the Governor's request came at a time when the suffrage struggle is acute and every capable suffragist needed by the campaign, Miss Hay felt it her duty to accept the position. At a preliminary meeting of the Commission, it was decided that the emphasis of the investigation would be, not so much upon institutional conditions as the needs of prisoners after their release. With her broad sympathy and wise outlook, Miss Hay will surely add much to the success of this new enterprise.

Muzzling Citizens in Paterson The situation in Paterson has transcended the struggle between Capital and Labor and is now a matter of vital interest to all who believe in fair play. In the struggle between mill owners and operatives the fundamental right of free speech has become deeply involved. And this right is one which thinking people hold to be one of the prime requisites of a democracy.

There have been many remarkable episodes in the bitter civil war of the last months in Paterson. The event, however, which has attracted the attention of the entire country is the arrest, trial and severe sentence of Editor Scott, whose offence was an editorial criticism of the police treatment of the strikers. We are not prepared to prove the case, either of the manufacturers or the members of the International Workers of the World, but we do hold that serious danger threatens our institutions when frank comment on current events, both in public meetings and in the public prints, is prohibited.

Free Speech and Suffrage As we look back upon public affairs of the season it is easy to imagine what would be the effect of universal application of the Paterson official muzzle. For instance, when the mob in Washington attacked the suffrage parade, those who criticized Whitewashed Sylvester would have been sentenced to a term in jail instead of given a hearing before the Investigating Committee. In California, the women voters who have denounced the relation between white slavery and politics would have been checked at the beginning of their campaign.

The question of free speech is of more than passing interest to suffragists, both those who are working for the ballot and those who are, in ten of our States, seeking to use it for the common good. If public meetings are subject to official scrutiny, street meetings prohibited, and citizens arrested for expressing an honest opinion with regard to the government, the hope of progress towards true democracy is indefinitely postponed.

"If You Can't Be Good—Be Careful" Following the announcement of the Antis' proposed boycott of Dr. Shaw comes a new statement from their headquarters. It is to the effect that from now on an attorney will examine the speeches and literature of suffragists for the purpose of instituting suits for libel against "objectionable parties."

Since the Anti-suffragists have never answered many of the statements to which they take such great objection, it would be extremely interesting to hear their defence in case of a libel suit. Evidently, however, they do not wish to carry out their threat, for after waving the big stick, they carefully tell us how to avoid being hit.

According to the newspapers it is Miss Minnie Bronson who has given us this tip as to what is and what is not libelous. She says:

> The suffragists have skilfully avoided giving expression in public to a libelous statement, though they have approached dangerously near to it.
>
> To say that any interests, liquor or other interests, are supporting a cause is not in itself libelous, but if the suffragists in public or in the press ever made a statement that the liquor interests are giving help to the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage or to any representative thereof a suit for libel will be instituted within twenty-four hours.
>
> We are looking for this opportunity and when it comes we will take advantage of it to the uttermost.
>
> One conviction for criminal libel will do a great deal to check the flood of malicious untruths about the women who are opposed to votes for women which have been circulated by suffragists.

Trying to Damn Civilization! No better illustration of the reactionary attitude of Anti-suffragists could be found than Miss Alice Chittenden's report of three months in California. It is a bitter indictment, not of woman suffrage, but of human progress. Here is the opening paragraph:

> Creating the millennium with the ballot and regardless of the staggering cost has been California's beautiful dream since woman suffrage carried the State ten months ago. Children are not to be separated from their parents because of poverty. The State is to subsidize the home. School teachers are to be pensioned. Old people are to receive an annual income. Prisoners are to be paid for their work in the jails. A régime of ease and comfort is to dawn in the Golden State. And then everybody in the community will be happy except the taxpayers who must become paupers or criminals before they can draw dividends on their investments in California's utopian scheme.

The Anti Habit of Mind This document is really the wail of the stand-patter, the querulous complaint of the self-satisfied person who cannot understand that the function of the State is to provide for the well-being of its citizens. We have always believed that Anti-suffrage is a habit of mind; not a protest against the enfranchisement of women, but the last despairing effort of the Anti-democrat to check all progress. Miss Chittenden's statement is impressive proof of our opinion.

Every measure which she decries is one that enlightened countries are seeking to introduce, whether they have woman suffrage or not. Widows' pensions, old age and workingmen's insurance, decent prisons, and a "régime of ease and comfort" is the platform of those who believe in progressive and humane legislation. We rejoice that in the free States women voters are allied with such movements, for it indicates that they are concerned with the welfare of the people, rather than with the dividends of a favored few.

Penalizing Marriage and Motherhood Several months ago we discussed the case of Mrs. Katherine Edgell, the Brooklyn teacher, whose leave of absence from school for the purpose of

bearing a child was refused by the Board of Education. The case of Mrs. Bridget Piexotto, which has recently brought the married teachers' problem before the public again, has led to a more definite statement from the Board.

Although both the Majority and Minority reports on the subject were laid on the table until Fall, it is generally expected that the Majority Report, which declares against the retention of married teachers in the public schools, will be accepted. If this is the case, all teachers affected by the ruling will be dismissed from the service.

The Powers of the School Board The reports begin with a statement of the power of the Board of Education in this matter, which says:

It has frequently been stated that the courts have decided that a teacher who marries cannot be removed and that maternity, being a natural and proper consequence following such fact, should not entail the penalty of dismissal. Some misunderstanding exists as to what the courts have really decided. The Board of Education had upon its books a by-law which provided that the marriage of a teacher while in the system should be equivalent to a resignation, and upon the happening of that event the teacher was automatically dropped from the rolls without further action on the part of this board.

It was decided that this by-law was void; that it was in contravention of the charter, which provided that a teacher could only be removed for neglect of duty, insubordination, gross misconduct or inefficiency, after charges were preferred, and that she was entitled to a hearing.

It will, therefore, be seen that as to the policy of retaining married women the courts have expressed no opinion.

It will thus be seen that the courts have at no time expressed an opinion as to the policy of appointing, retaining or removing married women. This is a matter peculiarly within the jurisdiction of this board, and unless arbitrarily carried out should not be interfered with.

The Majority Report Having defined the authority of the Board, the report continues, emphasizing the following points:

(1) Maternity necessitates long and frequent absences from school, requiring the employment of substitutes, who are in many cases a mere makeshift, thus impairing the best interest of school children.

(2) It is not alone the absence of the teacher which affects the pupil but even when present her teaching efficiency must necessarily be affected. It is obvious that the care of a class of children and the continuous routine of the school work necessarily involves great strain. Her own physical condition is more or less impaired, her nervous condition is not normal, and her attention is inevitably distracted if she has the maternal instinct as to what is happening at home. This is intensified on occasions when her child is ill, which so frequently happens during infancy. It goes without saying that under such circumstances the teacher is unfit to give the proper attention to her pupils. The latter must suffer, and it is not only detrimental to the pupil, but increases the cost of instruction.

(3) The presence of a prospective mother in the schoolroom violates all the laws of reserve and modesty.

It is within our knowledge that in the congested districts and in the crowded tenements, whence come many of our pupils, conditions exist which preclude all possibility of privacy and reserve. Natural reserve is a girl's greatest charm. When she reaches adolescence the greatest care must be taken in order to preserve that quality, and in every way counteract the effects of the unavoidable influence of the home surroundings referred to.

In no subject is more careful training required. Can this teaching be given by those whose very presence in the school is in violation of the very laws of reserve? Their very presence would make her teaching insincere, and impart lessons of hypocrisy instead of truth. It is not merely the formal and routine teaching that a teacher may efficiently give that makes her a good teacher. She has a higher function.

The really conscientious and efficient teacher recognizes her opportunities to accomplish great and good work, and will endeavor to instill into the minds of her charges lessons of truth, high conceptions of life, the relationship of the home to the school, of the child to the mother, of high ideals of marriage and motherhood and their responsibilities. How can this task be performed by a prospective mother, whose very presence under the circumstances cannot fail to exercise an unfavorable influence upon the girls?

(4) A married woman's place is in the home. It is the married teacher's duty to the State to stay at home and rear her children.

Long hours at school separate the mother from the child when her presence is needed most. After a day of tedious work at school the mother is in no condition to impart that healthy and joyous intercourse with her child which she would otherwise be able to impart.

(5) If a married woman teaches, the family enjoys a double income, for often the husband is able to provide support for a wife. By continuing to teach after marriage the married teacher deprives some single woman of the opportunity to earn a living.

THE UNPARDONABLE CRIME OF MOTHERHOOD.

Courtesy of The New York Tribune.

Courtesy of the Nashville Tennessean

The Minority Report The Minority Report presented by Dr. Ira Wile, is an able and convincing statement, favorable to the retention of married teachers. He denies that maternity involves frequent absence from duty or that if absence were necessary it would work greater hardship than numerous absences for other causes, showing that the total number of married teachers in the public schools is less than one per cent. at present.

Dr. Wile questions whether the presence of a married teacher is a violation of reserve and lays stress upon the movement for instruction in sex hygiene. In answer to the "absent mother" argument, he says:

The question of the "absent mother" has nothing to do with the problem of the dismissal of a teacher for maternity. At the present time 20 per cent. of the working population in the United States consists of women over 16 years of age. While we believe that in an ideal community the function of the woman is best performed in the home, we are living in a practical world, and the number of women going into occupations and industries of all kinds is constantly increasing, and this holds true for the married women as well as for the single women.

In conclusion the Minority Report holds that:

Our first and main function is the welfare and education of the pupils. When evidence exists that mothers are not teaching in an efficient manner, and are violating the statutory provisions, then and then alone it is possible to subject them to suspension, and after charges sustained, visit dismissal upon them.

♣ ♣ ♣

"When you were weak and I was strong I toiled for you. Now you are strong and I am weak. Because of my work for you, I ask your aid—I ask the ballot for myself and my sex. As I stood by you, stand by me and mine."—Clara Barton's Message to Soldiers.

ELLEN VERSUS ELLEN KEY.

BY
KATHARINE ANTHONY.

An editorial writer of the New York *Times,* in discussing the question whether married women should be allowed to teach in the schools, recently quoted Ellen Key's theories in support of the argument against the married teacher.

The writer of the editorial in question argued quite naturally from the general principles of his authority to the specific case under discussion, but he failed to reckon with the remarkably eclectic quality of Ellen Key's teachings. And that is where he has slipped up.

Below are given quotations from the editorial which aims to interpret her opinions on the married teacher problem and also the statement of her opinions on this subject by Miss Key herself—the tailor re-tailored, as it were.

Miss Key strongly supports the board's attitude on this subject, agreeing with its contention that when a woman tries to combine the duties of a teacher and of a wife and mother, she is comparatively inefficient in each domain and both the school and the home suffer.

Naturally, the distinguished Swede does not assert that the activities of married women should be confined entirely to their own households, nor does she deny them the capacity for any kind of outside or public work; she only insists that the homemaker's tasks are so many and so heavy that others like teaching, which are equally onerous, cannot properly or safely be added to them. With the suggestions of certain exponents of the new feminism as to the rearing of children from infancy in public institutions and as to co-operative or communal housekeeping, Miss Key is almost as impatient as are those who resent any and every proposal in any way to change the domestic habits and customs now in vogue.

The occasion which produced the following statement of opinion from Ellen Key was a crisis in the married teacher problem in Zürich. Last year the Canton passed a law excluding married women. The suffrage organizations of the city at once started an agitation for the repeal of this law. One of the features of the campaign was the publication of a letter written by Ellen Key to the suffragists to be used as campaign material.

"In most cases," she wrote, "on psychological as well as on physiological grounds a woman will be a better teacher *after* her marriage than before. The obstacles which marriage may offer a vocation are not to be underestimated. However, these difficulties must be judged and overcome, case by case. The woman must decide for herself, and in most cases where she finds it impossible to do her duty both by her children and by the school, she will give up the school. In the event that she does not do this, the school council still has full authority over her case. But a law *which forbids marriage* is as repellant to her as one *which commands marriage for all teachers.* And yet it would be better that every teacher were actually a mother than that all mothers should be banished from the school."

September 6 1912. Ellen Key.

VICTORY 1915 IN BROOKLYN!

BY

HARRIET T. COMSTOCK.

IT has been humorously said that Brooklyn is the place where people go, to sleep; the bed chamber of Manhattan. Well, other things are true of this Borough, also. It is the place of good and true home life; it boasts of its many churches; its Brooklyn Institute. Here, people think as well as sleep, and on this historic ground, where once the battle of Long Island was fought so bravely, another struggle is being waged—the struggle for woman's independence!

New York State is now in campaign, and Brooklyn's position between now and the Fall of 1915 is strategic and important.

Our work must, of necessity, be well planned and widespread. Manhattan is picturesque and vital; our best speakers and workers find the stage setting there more often to their taste—nevertheless Manhattan will not roll in the vote for woman's emancipation in 1915 that Brooklyn will, if this field of promise is properly understood and manipulated.

In every campaign, it is well understood that victory comes from the outlying boroughs and "up-State" counties. In California the women recognized the importance of the suburban vote and utilized it to their advantage. San Francisco was largely discounted, and the quiet home places secured. Let us all take this lesson to heart; accept facts and direct our ammunition where it will count most. Every good politician will tell you what the Brooklyn vote has been in time of social reform and, under that head surely our Cause must come.

In 1869 a meeting presided over by Mrs. Anna C. Fried was held and this was, practically, the beginning of the Woman Movement in Brooklyn—then a city; not a borough. At that meeting Lucretia Mott and Olive Logan, Henry Ward Beecher, Rev. John White Chadwick, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone Blackwell and others spoke eloquently. All this noble company have passed on, but the impress of such lives rests like a halo upon the workers of today. Since that memorable gathering there have been many organizations formed here; societies to meet the peculiar needs of various communities and individuals have evolved. Many of them have flourished and endured; others have recognized the fact that they were not vital to the best interests of the cause and have either disbanded entirely or have been merged into older and larger companies of workers.

The Bedford League, formed in 1894, at the home of Mrs. Hackstaff, has done magnificent work, as has the Kings County Political Equality League, the Elizabeth Cady Stanton League, the Prospect League of South Brooklyn, the Greenpoint Equal Suffrage League, the Anna Shaw League and others that have at present escaped my memory.

MRS. H. EDWARD DREIER
Chairman, Brooklyn Borough

All, and each, have reached particular cases and neighborhoods and carried the gospel of human rights to the people in ways best interpreted to individuals and sections. We should never overlook the labor performed by the pioneers, nor should we confuse the importance of past methods with present day ones. The names of women who started and supported the work of our cause should be sacred to us, for their vision made our present position possible; their courage blazed the trail for our safe journey. I wish that a Roll of Honor might be hung in every Headquarters bearing the names of our workers with dates attached—Lest we Forget!

To the Woman Suffrage Party must be given the credit of conceiving, and putting into practice, the scheme for Assembly District work.

MISS IDA CRAFTS

This method of reaching the people has been most effective everywhere and in Brooklyn Borough it is gaining ground rapidly. This plan of political work along the same lines as the regular political parties was originated by Mrs. Carrie C. Catt, and it is largely through the untiring efforts of Miss Ida Craft that this method of work has developed to its present proportions in Brooklyn.

Miss Craft has always been an untiring worker and generous supporter of the Cause. Where the work is hardest, the outlook most unlovely, there she leads and takes her stand.

She and Mrs. Hackstaff formed clubs in districts where once suffrage was spoken of in hushed tones and in those first days the method was to join clubs and pay dues; now we sign the slips as well and leave club membership a secondary consideration. These clubs, however, have grown rapidly in number and are the working basis of many activities. Through these various district clubs, localized effort is utilized and too much cannot be said in their favor.

In March, 1913, the new Headquarters of the Woman Suffrage Party in Brooklyn was opened at 27 Lafayette Avenue making a center for the 23 Assembly Districts in which we now have leaders and organized work. Miss Eldred Johnstone is office Secretary. At the annual convention of the Party, 180 delegates were present from Brooklyn. The present enrollment of members is nearly 10,000 and new members are coming in at the rate of several hundred a week.

In the parade of May 3rd, Brooklyn was represented by 1,000 marchers, 300 of whom went by special subway train from the Brooklyn Headquarters to 11th street, Manhattan, where they joined the others.

Before the parade, booths were maintained in eight of the large department stores in Brooklyn, where suffrage supplies were sold, enrollments taken and literature distributed. In the securing of these booths, Mrs. Drier's personal popularity and influence were great factors. Unfailingly courteous and hopeful she made her demands in so convincing a manner that many a surprised shopkeeper added, to his permission to give space, many extra advantages that emphasized and advertised the Cause.

During the year we have sent speakers to 26 of the political clubs of the borough—11 Progressives, 13 Republicans and 2 Democratic. Two big mass meetings have been held—one in the Music Hall, one in the Academy of Music. Both meetings were crowded; seats sold long in advance; big collections were taken and five overflow meetings held outside the building, at which willing speakers addressed hundreds of people.

The Summer campaign work was opened on June 17, when 19 automobiles started from Headquarters, paraded to Borough Hall, and then separated, carrying speakers into every district.

Flower sales and push carts are daily sights on our streets and meetings are constantly held where most good can be accomplished.

At one of our theatres, the Grand Opera House, during one week, between the acts of the play, the manager permitted the suffrage cause to be presented. This was, perhaps, as difficult a piece of work as the Brooklyn women have attempted. The audiences were of a mixed character and *The Brooklyn Eagle*, our principal paper, very unfair in its reports, but some good was undoubtedly accomplished and the advertising was considerable.

A Brooklyn Men's League for Woman Suffrage has been formed recently and this has had the same effect upon many women as has the presence of a man in the house when burglars are feared. It has given courage and daring.

Rev. Mr. Mellish of Holy Trinity Church is Chairman of this League, and he has secured the co-operation of many influential men. So

MISS ELDRED JOHNSTONE
Executive Secretary, Brooklyn Borough

greatly has this movement spread among Brooklyn men that in every district now where a sufficient number of men warrant it, branches have been started and special work outlined and undertaken.

While the indoor meetings and club work should not be under-estimated, the vital, telling work is that which is carried on out of doors. From the time of the first street meeting, three years ago, under the auspices of the Bedford League, many hundred have been held, and some fine speakers developed.

Coney Island is a rare field for labor, for, during the Summer, the world contributes to that seaside audience and the meetings held there are rich with promise.

In conclusion, let me reiterate: The Borough of Brooklyn should be recognized in the next two years as a very important field of work. Its large, order-loving vote can be secured and added to that of the nearby boroughs and up-State vote, and may overcome the doubtful vote of Manhattan, with its varied interests so opposed to the enfranchisement of women.

It may be that the possibilities in this borough will be "the tide in the affairs of" Women, "which taken at the flood," etc. However, this cry from Macedonia, *come and help us,* issues from a desire to prove ourselves and justify the past in the Borough's political history.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE FROM THE STANDPOINT OF A JURIST.

BY

WILLIAM LITTLEFORD,

President Ohio Men's League.

IN Bourland vs. Hildreth, 26 California 161, 194, it is said that the ballot is "nothing but a written note or communication from an elector addressed to the government, expressing the choice of the elector, etc."

The United States being a representative government, everyone is entitled to vote who has the right to be represented; that is, every one who has the right to be represented is entitled to communicate by ballot with the government at stipulated times to express his individual opinion.

Several classes of persons are not entitled to be represented, and therefore have no right to communicate their wishes to the government.

Foreigners have no right to be represented. The diplomatic representative of his country resident in America takes care of the rights of the foreigner. He can claim protection for himself and property from this government, but he has no right to be represented in the government.

Criminals, who are confined in prison, and in some States those who have been convicted of certain crimes, but have served their terms, are not entitled to representation because their moral deficiencies render them unfit to have a voice in the government.

Atheists, agnostics and polygamists are excluded from representation or a right to have a voice in the government for the same reason that criminals are disqualified; that is, because it is not thought their moral standard is such as to entitle them to take part in the government.

Educational qualifications are required in Massachusetts, Maine, Wyoming, Washington, Delaware, Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina and Virginia, where a voter must be able to read at least a section of the Constitution, to write his own name, and in the Southern States "to read or understand" the clauses of the State Constitution. Persons not having enough education to meet these requirements are thought to be unfit to take any part in the government and therefore have no right to be represented.

The payment of a small poll tax is required in Pennsylvania and some of the Southern States before the voter is allowed to cast his ballot. Although most of the States of the Union have abolished the poll tax, still in a number of the States a man who is so thriftless as to be unable to pay a poll tax of a dollar or two is considered unworthy to cast a ballot and is therefore not allowed to be represented.

Insane persons are excluded from voting in all States, because of their lack of mental qualifications to vote. As wards of the State, they are entitled to care and protection, but not to be represented in the councils of the government. Paupers and those who receive outdoor relief are denied the ballot in many States on the ground that such persons are generally of an inferior sort both in mentality and in morals and hence have no right to a representation.

Persons under age are not supposed to be of sufficiently matured minds to have a sound opinion upon questions of government and are therefore excluded from representation and have no right to vote in any of the States.

WOMEN, except in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Arizona, Kansas, Oregon, Illinois and Alaska, are held not to have any right to representation under this government and are therefore not allowed to vote.

The reasons are agreed upon in all the States why the foregoing classes are excluded from the right to vote except in the case of women, and in the case of women, although the reasons given are fairly numerous, there seems to be no gen-

eral agreement anywhere as to why women are not entitled to representation in this government.

A man is thought to be entitled to representation because of his ownership of real or personal property, because of his concern in the conditions that relate to his daily labors, because of his need to maintain the protection that the law gives and because of his interest, either from selfish reasons or otherwise, in the general welfare of the community. But all these reasons why a man should be represented in the government are the same in the case of a woman.

As to a man's right to vote because of his mental qualification, it can be fairly said that in some ways a woman is inferior to a man in this respect, but in some ways she is superior.

As to the moral qualifications which are said to entitle a man to vote, which refer to the casting of a vote with the intent to do right for the benefit of all, a woman is more likely to be conscientious in this respect than a man. That is, a man is more likely than a woman to sell his vote for a bribe, and more likely to vote solely to maintain his party in power and for no other reason.

Thus far, therefore, men and women seem to be on the same footing so far as their right to be represented as units in the government is concerned. It is necessary, therefore, to go farther to find if there is logical ground for discrimination against women.

In addition to the above reasons for claiming the right to be represented and to take part in the government men lay especial stress upon the fact that the casting of the ballot broadens and strengthens any race, and that therefore it is necessary that a self-respecting free man should have the right to vote. It is an undoubted fact that the right of suffrage leads men to read, to think and to discuss, with the general effect of uplifting them mentally, morally and even physically. No one denies that the Chinese and Portuguese will advance with rapid strides now that they have been given the ballot, although under centuries of repression they made little material progress.

All men, therefore, who have the proper ideal of manhood, in order to get the best possibilities out of themselves as human beings, insist upon the right to be represented and to have a voice in the government. But this reason why men should vote applies equally well to woman, because she is also a human being and in all respects practically the same as man, and what intellectualizes him intellectualizes her, and she has just as much right to demand the ballot for this reason as a man has. There can be no doubt but that if woman was given the right to take a voter's part in the solution of the vital questions of this great age, the mental and moral exhilaration that would result would make her a broader-minded, better and more intelligent human being.

Another reason why men claim the right to take part in the government is that it is the *duty* of every man to help conduct the government for the benefit of all, just as it is the duty of every man to see that his home is kept up properly. But here again the same reason holds good if applied to woman. If it be conceded that it is a woman's duty to do her share toward the up-keep of a home, how can it be said that it is not her duty to assist in the up-keep of the commonwealth? There are women, just as there are some men, who say they do not want to vote; but there has been no one yet who has gone so far as to deny that it is a woman's duty to take part in public affairs. If it is a woman's duty to take part in public affairs, she should perform that duty in full measure, and this she can only do as men do it—by voting.

Upon a fair view of the whole subject, we must admit that there is no disqualification in the case of women like mental or moral deficiency, such as justifies the exclusion from representation of beggars, criminals, minors, aliens, insane persons and illiterates; that if voting is a means of educating, broadening and uplifting a male human being, women would be benefited by it the same as men; and if voting is a duty which devolves upon every man who takes an interest in his fellowmen, then it is also the duty of every woman who takes an interest in the common lot.

It is a conclusion from which there is no escape that woman has the right to be represented under a republican form of government and it follows inevitably that if she has the right to be represented she is also entitled to the privilege of casting a vote.

TIME FOR TAPS.

"THAT the suffrage cause is languishing, even dying, may be ascertained by applying to the S. O. W. S. (not a porcine proposition, but an Anti society). When it finally becomes a corpse and all hands assemble for the requiem, a modest delegation of ninety thousand souls from the Woman Suffrage Party of Greater New York will constitute a small per cent. of The Faithful who will come to mourn. Manufacturers of mouchoirs should join with the Antis and prepare for the happy event. A shroud of the one million five hundred thousand suffrage leaflets given out during the past year by the little handful of W. S. P. adherents is now being made for the Crushed Cause."—OREOLA W. HASKELL in *Judge*.

WOMEN need suffrage because of three great social changes: (1) The industrial revolution as a result of which many millions of women no longer do their work in the home, but are breadwinners outside of it. (2) The feminist movement for the full development of women. No longer content to minister solely to the comforts of man, the woman of to-day realizes that she must have scope for the full development of her individuality. She as well as man can seek the highest education and a career. (3) The great increase of governmental activity. Unrestrained competition no longer determines conditions of labor. Individual freedom is curbed at every point in the interest of the social whole.—ALFRED HAYES in *The Independent*.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

BY

JESSIE ASHLEY.

FOR five months a most remarkable labor struggle has been going forward in the silk industry in Paterson, New Jersey. It is not primarily a woman's fight, but women are closely bound up in it, as indeed they are in every struggle everywhere in which human beings are involved.

In Paterson there is one feature in particular that concerns women; that is the infamous contract system by which parents agree with the employer that 50 per cent. of a young girl's wages shall be held back each week by the employer and retained by him for one year. If at the end of the year the girl be still at work for the same employer, or if in the meantime she be discharged by him, she shall receive the money thus held back, but without interest; but, if she leaves him voluntarily this 50 per cent. of her lawful wages is kept to enrich the employer. One scale of wages is paid for a year, one-half that amount for less than that time; but, of course, it is the higher scale that is publicly quoted. In the meantime the treatment she receives is brutally calculated to make her quit her work voluntarily; there are always plenty of young girls to take her place.

When a strike in the silk industry was first called last February, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was asked to come to Paterson to assist those girls and the other silk workers, men and women alike, in planning their fight against bad conditions. The strikers asked an eight-hour day and the abolition of the four loom system, as well as an increase in wages. Anyone who either in fact or in imagination has worked for eight hours a day, six days a week, fifty-two weeks a year, at any steady, monotonous work will be convinced that eight hours at such toil is all that any living being should be asked to perform, or indeed, more than anyone should be allowed to perform, if the welfare of the human race and of the individual is to be considered.

The strain of handling four looms is obvious. There is nothing unreasonable in asking the abolition of this feature of the silk milk system. Let Miss Flynn's table, gathered from actual pay envelopes in her possession, be quoted for the scale of wages:

One girl, 16 years old, 32 weeks' work at Bamford's, average per week, $1.85.

One girl, employed by Bamford, 42 weeks, average per week, $1.25.

One woman, broad silk, 2 looms, 40 weeks, average per week, $7.17.

One man, weaver, 1 loom, 10 weeks, average per week, $10.59.

One man, weaver, No. 237, 10 weeks, average per week, $9.73.

One man, weaver, 2 looms, 40 weeks, average per week, $9.48.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

Drawing by Irma Deremeaux

One man, weaver, No. 127, 10 weeks, average per week, $9.73.

One man, dyer's helper, 52 weeks, average per week, $10.71.

Miscellaneous, 22 envelopes, average per week, $6.17.

Miss Flynn at once discovered and made public the wretchedly unfair contract system. Naturally she became unpopular in manufacturing circles, and when she dauntlessly spoke in public exposing all the ills she knew in the silk mills she became the target of official opposition. Very soon she found herself under arrest for "inciting to riot."

Now, there has been no riot in Paterson caused by the workers or by the Industrial Workers of the World (who are the workers of the rank and file). Nevertheless some wonderful words were put into Miss Flynn's mouth. Did you on February 25th use the words "Go to the mills and pull the workers out?" "Club them out," "Kick them out," "Use your utmost force to get them out?" So ran the questions put to the

blue-eyed rebel seated in the witness chair. Anyone who knows Miss Flynn knows she does not counsel such tactics, nor anything like them. She urges the workers to stick together till they win the strike and tells them the strike *must* be won. She tells them to go upon the picket line, she inspires courage, she gives deep hope, she makes rebels, but her tactics are those of peace, the dread quiet that does no stroke of work till the fight is won.

Elizabeth Flynn is beautiful with a calm, clear-eyed beauty; her face is well rounded and rather pale, delicately tinted like a shell; her hair is dark, almost black, and is worn rolling naturally back from her brow. Her hands are very small and white, noticeable little hands. But it is her wonderful gift as a speaker that makes her such a power in any strike. Clear, forceful, fearless, using the simplest of words, the most uncompromising methods, she scorns all the usual oratorical devices and hammers straight in the thoughts she wishes to convey. Practical advice, scathing criticism, clear-sighted warnings, illustrations that have the unmistakable ring of bitter truth. All this one hears from the girl of twenty-two as she stands upon a strike platform, her clear voice ringing out over the listening crowd.

Such was the defendant in the recent trial at Paterson, New Jersey. The weather was very hot, the court room was sweltering. The jury which had been called from a nearby county sat dully in the box. They were old men for the most part, and one doubted whether it would be humanly possible for them to understand or accept the great new thought that the beautiful young defendant taught: the thought that the workers of the world must unite and help each other to win freedom for themselves and their children. The freedom that women are beginning to demand, political and economic. These jurymen had been drawn from another county by the request of Miss Flynn's attorneys, because they felt sure that justice would not be done her by a jury from Passaic County, and this contention of her attorneys had been sustained by Judge Minturn and the request granted. What a tale that fact alone tells of Paterson prejudice, of the throttling of free speech, of the endless pressure brought to bear by manufacturers!

The jury, such as it was, dozed in its box while the legal battle raged before them.

The courtroom was full, but no one was admitted who had not some well recognized connection with the business in hand, either as witnesses, newspaper representative, or member of the Court. Judge Klenert sat on the bench, cool, incisive, wearing a somewhat cynical smile. Prosecutor Dunn marshaled his witnesses and apparently proved to his own satisfaction that Miss Flynn had incited the workers to riot by telling them to club the people in the mills, beat them up, and use them in all ways violently unless they peaceably left their work. The State's witnesses were, as usual, policemen, and they told their stories with a glib certainty of detail and a suspicious similarity.

Miss Flynn for her part denied that she used the words ascribed to her, and so did the many witnesses called in her behalf. All testified to having heard her speech and also to having seen the crowd when it broke up, and that not only was no violence advocated, but no violence occurred. Prosecutor Dunn shook his fist at Miss Flynn while she gave her testimony and tried to intimidate her until stopped by the Court. She then gave a wonderful recital of what she had actually said in her famous speech. That ended the trial except for the summing up by the attorneys and the charge by the judge. This was at 11:40 in the morning of the third day. After that everyone settled down to a long wait. Hour after hour went idly by. Lunch was taken in to the jurors, the clock slowly marked minutes and still the jury found nothing.

It never did find anything; it finally reported that it could not agree. It stood eight for conviction, four for acquittal, and all the work must be done anew!

It is stated that one of the jurors who at first stood for acquittal changed his vote to guilty because someone else persuaded him that Miss Flynn was a Jew! (Which, by the way, she isn't, being flagrantly Irish.) So much for the jury system!

One of the things to be noticed in all these cases is this: The strike has been remarkably free from violence. It is so conceded by the *Paterson Press,* which is opposed to the I. W. W. (*violently* so, be it noted, so far as language is concerned). And yet the so-called leaders have all been arrested and are now one and all out on heavy bail. The Prosecutor, instead of making it easy for unconvicted men and women to obtain their liberty, has made it in some cases well-nigh impossible to obtain bail that he would accept. And yet these very same leaders either have not advocated violence, or, if they have, they have proved in the results to be utterly innocuous.

The Paterson jail, in which the arrested strikers and organizers are detained, is unfit for occupation by any one, criminal or otherwise. It is dark—black as night at half-past four—and without air. The prisoners are crowded together and fed on miserable rations—coffee that is made of molasses and something that certainly isn't coffee beans, dry bread, a chunk of meat and weak soup. There are no spoons or forks and the meat must be pulled apart with the fingers. No tooth brushes are tolerated, and thirty men must use one towel. No food is allowed to be sent in from the outside and visitors are admitted but once a week from nine thirty till eleven in the morning. Thus we humanize and civilize our prisoners. Is it likely that any striking worker after such a taste of wonderful Justice, will feel great reverence for American institutions?

THE STREET MEETING.

BY

ADALINE WHEELOCK STERLING.

LO! the Winter is past; halls and clubs resound no more with suffrage argument and plea; the janitor treads alone the auditorium deserted, and hears alone the echoes of impassioned eloquence. Flowers appear in the parks, the time of the singing of birds is come; coincidently the homely rostrum appears and the voice of the speaker is heard in the land.

Reduced to terms of mixed metaphor, with the first warm days of Spring, the suffrage propagandists imitate Mahomet and go to the mountain—the street audience. A soap box, tried and true a standard of suffrage yellow a couple of speakers, always convincing, sometimes eloquent, several helpers to distribute literature and sell VOTERS, and there you have stage property and actors for a missionary drama. As for audience! Why the attraction of gravitation is outclassed by the subtle force which draws hearers "out of the nowhere into the here" to listen to a woman's voice.

For long weeks past District Leaders have been planning for the very season which is now in full swing, giving due heed that this is both seedtime and harvest—the golden opportunity to plant the germ, and to gather the ripened yield before frost whitens the earth. For this, speaking classes, study clubs, public appearances before political organizations, reading and investigation have trained the harvesters of voters until they are expert agriculturists of their kind.

Begun in timidity and half in doubt, scarce four years ago, the Street Meeting has passed the formative stage and become a recognized feature in city Summer life. So it is just a matter of course on every pleasant Summer evening to find a suffragist meeting in progress in several of the sixty-three Assembly Districts of Greater New York.

CONSIDER for a moment the cosmopolitan character of our city, that here are gathered representatives from every tribe and nation, that perhaps nowhere else are so many tongues spoken, and then realize with grateful appreciation that to so many of the strangers within our gates the suffrage message is conveyed in their own language. In one district a red and white flag flanks the suffrage banner, while a Bohemian speaker explains the justice of equal suffrage; in another locality the same message is given in liquid Italian to swarthy laborers and their womankind, lavish as to earrings, and perhaps more interested in "bambini" than votes; here an earnest-faced woman carries on the strain in Yiddish; there the Scandinavian tongue proclaims the new strife for right; the Fatherland tells the same tale in guttural tones; and dominating all others the crisp, forceful English speech reiterates the doctrine of government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and women *are* half the people. Is it not wonderful, this sonorous chorus of many notes blending into the one mighty chord of equal justice!

THE SPIRIT OF 1913!

Courtesy of Judge.

Since those first days when women with courage born of sense of duty uttered their plea in the street public sentiment and attitude have experienced a marked change. The speaker is no longer regarded either as a candidate for Matteawan or an object of ridicule. Her appearance on the street corner with her corps of helpers is quite a matter of course. The stray passer-by is inclined to proffer small courtesies in placing the box advantageously, and finding a vantage point for the banner.

To be sure where race suicide prevails not the small boy still asserts his potential manhood by shouting "sufferergits" and demanding "votes for us men;" while the small girl giggles after her kind and aids and abets the small boy when she is not cuffing him as a matter of private feud until the bluecoat routs them both. The half grown of both sexes sometimes exhibit the folly incident to their years, and "act up" accordingly, but this is mere detail, a trifle in the evening's meeting. For the most part the adult part of the audience is respectful and attentive, sometimes deeply interested, so that a meeting is prolonged until the speakers are forced to stop from sheer fatigue. Two momentous problems seem to have been set at rest: there is no longer fever-

ish anxiety to know who is minding the children while the women are abroad, and dish-washing looms no more as a disquieting spectre.

So much for the change in the audience. There have been changes as well in the speakers themselves and in the method of conducting the meetings. There is nothing cut and dried about the gatherings; each leader seeks originality and novelty in her meeting. Platitudes have no place in the scheme, and the object is to appeal to common sense, not to sentiment.

Of course the heckler, the general objector, and the Anti who shouldn't be away from home but is, make things lively and interesting at times. Our canny speakers have evolved a clever method of anticipating objections. They know that "the sphere" will be hurled at the speaker's head at some stage of the proceedings, so they gaily produce the projectile themselves, extinguish the fuse, take out the clock work, and turn the would-be bomb into a harmless ornamental ball. The most successful speaker is one who has a sense of humor to help out difficult situations who can good-naturedly turn the laugh on a persistent opponent, who never antagonizes, but who states the suffrage proposition in such logical form that to deny its correctness one must write oneself down as Dogberry did. To every other requirement must be added the knowledge of how to take up a collection, for who could face our loved City Chairman, if this cardinal act of faith were omitted?

The picturesque presents itself in the gaily decked automobile, halting in front of the Headquarters of the Antis, or before the theatre in which Sarah Bernhard was playing, or in the demonstration in the 18th Senatorial District. Or it finds expression in the gathering in Union Square under the shadow of the statue of Washington, where the outstretched hand of the Father of His Country seems to be uttering a "bless you, my children."

A humorous incident occurred one night in the 27th Assembly District, when a speaker in all the splendor of yellow sash was at the flood tide of eloquence making a very telling point. A voice in the crowd boomed out: "And phwat is the rag she's afther wearin'! A sash is it, and bloody orange color! Lave me at her, and I'll tear it off uv her and trample it under me fut. I'm an Irishwoman, sure!" And Erin go Bragh was gently escorted out of the throng and took her way along Forty-fifth street asserting her nationality at every step. Then there was the longshoremen who had looked too long and deeply into the foaming schooner, who interrupted a meeting with the succinct statement that if women stayed at home where they belonged and didn't take men's jobs, he'd be getting twenty dollars a week. Where, oh, where, are the longshorewomen?

At one of the stated meetings at 110th street and Broadway, a slightly inebriated gentleman tried conclusions with the speaker, a woman lawyer, and in terms more frank than courteous impeached her veracity. Quick as a flash, Madame Lawyer cried, "Give me your name and address, sir, and I'll sue you for slander," a handsome offer neither appreciated nor accepted.

In passing it may be remarked that this locality is offering some choice masculine oratory on suffrage, and that the after debates are most illuminating, as when an anæmic looking individual told the speaker who overtopped him a good foot and outweighed him by many pounds that he objected to giving women the vote because they had not the physical force and strength of a man, and then got off that hoary argument of the bullet and the ballot. And the woman he addressed could have lifted him with one hand and could have slain him with a bean shooter.

But the blue pencil looms up again, and only one more citation can be made, the Bacchanalian serenade and meeting in the 2d Assembly District on the platform of a retired pickle factory. There were no pickles within the building, only the perfume hanging round still, but there were fifty times the fifty-seven varieties in the swarming audience. Mixed and plain, sweet and tart, Tiny Tims, stalwart salt gherkins, the onion variety, and the mustard flavored, all human and all howling and cheering and occasionally listening. Two banjo players led the serenade, which consisted of that classic melody, "Tammany," which all the pickles sang through three times with chorus ad libitum. Across the street Tammany braves and sachems listened approvingly to the music and disapprovingly to the oratory, the policeman faded away like a beautiful dream, and the speakers made themselves heard by herculean effort. Then they boarded a horse car of the Rip Van Winkle vintage and were borne leisurely away by an ancient horse. The last seen of the intrepid Leader she was exchanging a few pleasantly terse remarks with the braves and sachems before mentioned. It was great!

There is one point which must be named in connection with street meetings, and that is the advantage the policeman derives from the arguments presented. Think of the knowledge he absorbs, and what a valuable addition he would be, if we could catch him off duty and press him into service as a speaker.

Too much cannot be said in recognition of the value of the street meeting, the results are evident and encouraging. Where meetings are held regularly at a given place, the leader notices the same faces in the crowd night after night. Then comes the time when an enrollment blank is requested and a convert made. A recent slip bears on the back this legend, "Just converted, father of six sons." And every one of those sons is tagged forthwith to join the paternal convert. It is a great work and no suffragist can grudge the time given, the sacrifice of holiday perhaps, when she realizes that she has done her part, no matter how small, in the conflict we must wage until election day, 1915.

The Suffrage Book-Shelf

COMMERCIALIZED PROSTITUTION IN NEW YORK CITY.

THIS report isn't a mere book. It's a picture, a disgusting picture of ugly facts. It doesn't exaggerate the evils, but it presents enough detail to convince one that the real situation is worse than we supposed. The whole city is undermined with the sordid trade of prostitution which threatens youth, smirches pleasure and corrupts government.

We are told how the business is conducted, its revenues and cost. We are introduced to the prostitute and her exploiters. We are shown the roots of the evil in human depravity and social conditions; and then are asked to estimate the value of our feeble efforts to meet the situation.

One point the investigations bring out is that it is not merely low earnings, but low mentality and low morals that lead women to the street. Lust and greed bring men into the business, while the agents of the law seem powerless to prevent the evil so long as inchoate public opinion conspires with the activity of unscrupulous crooks.

The appendices contain valuable information for landlords, officials and moralists. This clinical material does not reflect much glory upon our urban civilization; it at least shows the task before men and women who would make it clean and wholesome. Succeeding volumes of the series may help to make plain the ways in which other communities are dealing with the situation. Clearly the disease is widespread and dangerous. Let us hope the proper remedies may soon be applied.

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VIRGINIA AND VALUES.

MISS ELLEN GLASGOW'S latest book, *Virginia*, is very suggestive. In it two different types of women are revealed—the old-fashioned type and the modern type; and it is curious to note how different is their interpretation of certain values. To the woman of the older school unselfishness is synonymous with complete sacrifice of self to the needs of her immediate family. To the younger woman, the same virtue is inconsistent with devotion to a narrow circle, to the exclusion of the many vital interests which of necessity reach outside the home.

Now what happens in the cases of these two women? The older woman's complete absorption in her family, without reference to its relation to the outside world, leaves her eventually disconnected with the world; consequently, when her children inevitably pass outside the immediate influence of the home, she loses them in a very serious sense. The younger woman, on the other hand, having placed herself in communication with the kinetic and evolutionary forces of the age, moves forward, companioned by the like-minded. There is no danger of her becoming isolated or stranded, for she has identified herself with that movement whose life is progression and whose watchword is comradeship.

It seems that it is quite necessary for us to revise our table of values occasionally and be sure of the fullness of the meaning which we attribute to the words or symbols which denote those values. As we have seen the one word "selfishness" in Miss Glasgow's story was differently interpreted by two women, and on that interpretation much depended.

HILDA RIDLEY.

♣ ♣ ♣

NOTABLE WOMEN IN HISTORY.

A STUDENT of history has recently published a thesis which proves that the history of women reveals few worthy of fame. If this contention be true, Willis J. Abbott is to be congratulated upon the remarkable array of biographies which he has gathered for *Notable Women in History*. In the Preface he says that his researches have revealed ample evidence of woman's capacity to fill any position to which she is called. His studies include classic women, queens, women of the salons, reformers, actresses, writers and a few women who stand alone and each group contains numerous pen portraits of women famous in these various ways.

In the section *Priestesses of the Woman's Cause* are excellent sketches of Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe, Florence Nightingale, Clara Barton, Frances E. Willard, Anne Hutchinson and Lucretia Mott. The author does not connect the chapters in such a way as to give an idea of the sequence of the woman movement, but as separate biographies, which give a brief, vivid account of the leading episodes in the lives of the pioneers considered, they serve admirably.

Of the consecration of Susan B. Anthony, he says: "With her the cause of woman took the places of home, children and society; it was to her at once religion, politics, work and pleasure. 'I know only woman and her disfranchised' she was wont to say, and this single-hearted purpose she pursued until death."

♣ ♣ ♣

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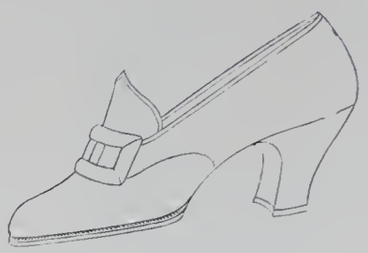

which follows from birth to old age, are liberally sprinkled with the comments of a modern woman in Elsie Clewes Parson's new book. An authoritative recital of notions and superstitions regarding the sex is not only interesting in itself, but valuable to the student of the woman movement, for it shows the primitive origin of many ideas which have persisted despite the changes in civilization. Mrs. Parson's comments are apt and illuminating. For instance, speaking of the old maid as a fleeting phenomenon, unknown to primitive society, flourishing in mediæval nunneries and pining in other people's homes in the eighteenth century, she says:

"From 'taking up things,' gardening, 'charity,' handicrafts, teaching, 'writing,' the ladylike pastimes inherited from the nunnery, from pathetic flings for freedom as governess or 'companion,' she betook herself to the forum or market place and after some floundering succeeded in making herself count in public affairs or in merging herself with the wage-earner, the girl who had to support herself or others, but who always expected and was expected eventually to marry. * * *

"Nevertheless, to-day it is the married woman who has taken the place left empty by the old maid. She is forced either into idleness or into fictitious jobs by the pride of her family or by the nature of our economic organization, there being no place in it, outside of depressed industries, for a half-time worker. She is 'protected' at home. She is discounted, excused, and sometimes pitied abroad. Her wedding ring is a token of inadequacy as well as 'respectability.'"

One of the most delightful chapters in the book is "Sex in Dress," which shows how, despite the outgrowing of distinctions in dress according to nationality, rank and age, sex still exacts observance. Many suffragists remember how in the early days of the movement the thought of dress reform was sometimes included as a necessary step to enfranchisement. In this connection, we are told:

"The first woman to study medicine at the Sorbonne also dressed like a man, an example our own Elizabeth Blackwell was advised to follow, not as a disguise, but because it was argued, it made the University men free to help her. George Sand and many of the early Women's Rights women in the United States took to wearing modifications of men's dress. Their critics had a habit of urging an absolute interchange of petticoats and breeches upon them all 'to complete the system.' For example, the editor of the Rutland *Herald* advertised in his paper that after Clarina Nichols had appeared before a committee of the Vermont Legislature asking for the vote for women in district school meetings, he intended to come forward and present her with a suit of men's clothes. The Judiciary Committee of the New York Assembly, to whom, in 1856, petitions for 'women's rights' had been referred, reported that in cases where both husband and wife had signed the petitions 'they would recommend the parties to apply for a law permitting them to change dresses, so that the husband may wear petticoats, and the wife the breeches, and thus indicate to their neighbors and the public the true relation in which they stand to each other.'"

THE UNREST OF WOMEN.

In considering the subject of woman suffrage, Mr. Martin puts very clearly, tolerantly and with a charming personal touch the old and well-worn anti-arguments. He discusses feminism from the standpoint of a good-natured and rather broad conservatism, the platform of one whose life has been cast in those "pleasant places" where economics is merely an academic question. But the germ of a new social order is in the air, and Mr. Martin has not escaped infection. His book will be mildly stimulating to anti-suffragists, and will do no harm to the rest of us.

E. M. G.

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O PIONEERS!

O Pioneers! by Willa Gilbert Cather, was named from Walt Whitman's poem. Though this is not, strictly speaking, a feminist novel, Alexandra, the heroine of fifty years ago, is a forerunner of the modern American woman who has made the question of woman's emancipation of such paramount importance.

To members of the Woman Suffrage Party, it may be interesting to note that a member of THE VOTER staff posed for the drawings, which are by Clarence Underwood.

♠ ♠ ♠

BOOKS RECEIVED.

COMMERCIALIZED PROSTITUTION IN NEW YORK CITY.—*By George J. Kneeland. Published by The Century Co., New York. Price,* $1.30 *net.*

VIRGINIA.—*By Ellen Glasgow. Published by Doubleday, Page and Co., New York. Price,* $1.35 *net.*

THE NEW HOUSEKEEPING.—*By Christine Frederick. Published by Doubleday, Page and Co., New York, Price,* $1.00 *net.*

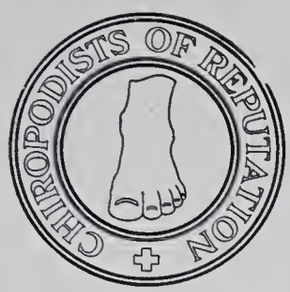
THE UNREST OF WOMEN.—*By Edward Sanford Martin. Published by D. Appleton and Co., New York. Price,* $1.00 *net.*

NOTABLE WOMEN IN HISTORY.—*By Willis J. Abbott. Published by The John C. Winston Company, Philadelphia. Price,* $2.40.

THE OLD-FASHIONED WOMAN.—*By Elsie Clewes Parsons. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Price,* $1.50 *net.*

THE HOUSE OF THANE.—*By Elizabeth Dejeans. Published by J. P. Lippincott, Philadelphia. Price,* $1.25 *net.*

O PIONEERS!—*By Willa Sibert Cather. Published by Houghton, Mifflin and Co., Boston, Mass.. Price,* $1.25 *net.*



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VICTORY 1915

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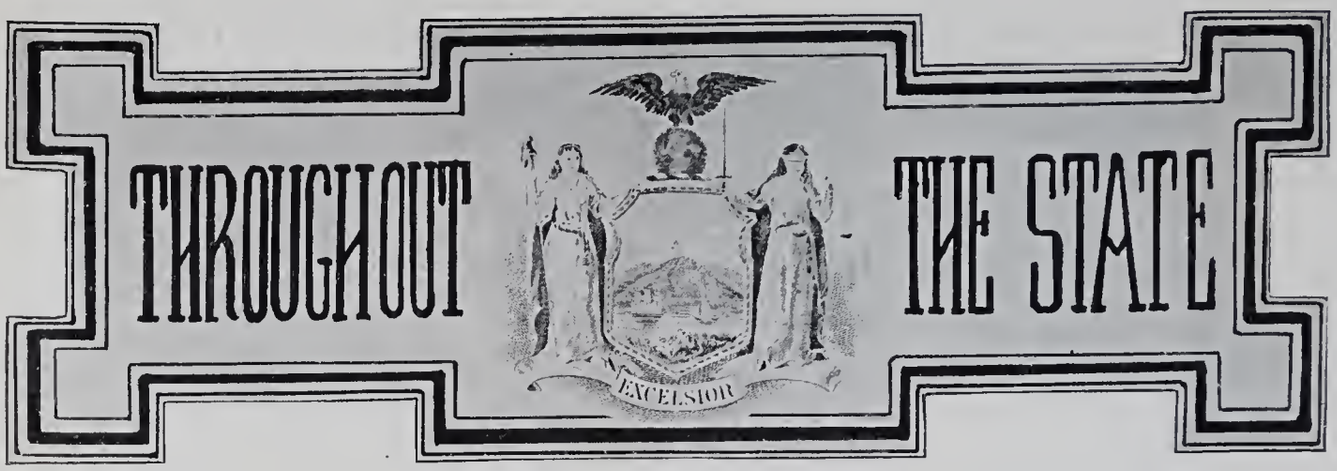

Edited by SARAH J. RUSSELL

THE FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION.
October 14th to 17th, Binghamton.

GREAT plans are being made for the biggest convention in the history of the State Association. It is hoped to make the week beginning October the 12th full of suffrage events, with sermons by our best speakers on Sunday, and some form of entertainment every day and evening after. All who can, should plan to be present the whole week. Moving pictures, the voiceless speech, outdoor meetings will be used; every kind of suffrage novelty, literature, and all possible means or methods of work will be on exhibition. With our campaign imminent it is doubly important to make our convention a practical working body that shall be of real service to every member present.

THE PARADE.

ON Tuesday, the 14th of October, the convention will open with a parade. We hope that every Club and Assembly District in the State will be represented. Have you a banner? If not, get one. Any club can make its own flag by buying some yellow bunting, felt or satine. White banners lettered in gold or yellow ones lettered in black are the prettiest. If you have any special motto, put that on your banner.

SPEAKERS.

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, our International President, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, our National President, and other notable speakers will be on the program. Fresh from the Budapest Congress, these great leaders of ours will have new lines of work to suggest in the business meetings and will give to the evening meetings their rare eloquence.

DISCUSSION.

EVERY opportunity will be given to present helpful suggestions. Some have plans for overturning the present plan of organization; others think it a poor time to made radical changes, with a campaign before us. Let every Club and District Association discuss this and other questions fully and come to the convention with open minds ready to weigh all sides and vote according to their best judgment.

BINGHAMTON HOSPITALITY.

THE general chairman of local arrangements is Mrs. George W. Topliff, President of the Club. She writes that able and efficient Chairmen are already at work.

Come to Binghamton and do your part to compass a great victory for 1915!

A SCHOOL FOR SUFFRAGE ORGANIZERS.

A SCHOOL for Suffrage Organizers and Speakers, under the direction of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and experienced assistants, will be held in New York, Monday, September 15th, to Saturday, September 27th, inclusive. The special object of this School is to train workers for the New York State campaign, although students will be received from any State in the Union. The instruction is free to all, the only expense being board, paper, and pencils. All students are expected to devote their entire attention to the work during the sessions of the School.

The schedule of work will include studies in State and National Constitutions; laws concerning women; voice culture and public speaking; suffrage argument and practical training in organization, money raising, arrangement and conduct of meetings. Opportunity will be afforded for drill in public speaking at street and hall meetings, and organization under direction. Lectures upon helpful related subjects will be given by experienced suffrage workers, and no effort will be spared to fit those who desire the training for practical and successful field work.

The Headquarters of the National Suffrage Association, the State Woman Suffrage Association, the Woman Suffrage Party and the Equal Franchise Society will offer facilities to the students.

Those who desire further information will kindly apply to Miss Harriet May Mills, State Headquarters, 180 Madison Avenue, New York.

No such opportunity has ever before been offered suffrage workers. The generosity of Mrs. Catt and those who will assist her will make it possible for every organizer and speaker to be well prepared for the campaign. In the next issue of the VOTER-NEWSLETTER an outline of the course of study will appear. Those wishing to obtain reasonable board while in the city may apply to the State Headquarter-

FIELD WORK.

ON every side the work goes on with ever increasing vigor. Miss Roberts has secured strong leaders in Oswego County and has left the work in efficient hands. She has been aided by Miss Helen Raynesford of Rochester and has in turn been assisting in Mrs. Clement's Judicial District, going into Yates and Seneca counties.

Mrs. Clement, the Judicial Chairman, and Mrs. Roxana B. Burrows have been campaigning through Wayne County. The meetings were arranged by Mrs. Cora M. Rogers of Lincoln. At Williamson, Sodus, Sodus Point, Newark, Palmyra, Lyons and Clyde Captains were secured. As many as 200 attended the open air meeting in Palmyra Park.

Mrs. Shuler writes from Erie County that the participation of the Buffalo suffragists in the Erie, Pennsylvania, parade, was of signal service to the cause in both States. Mrs. Shuler has been in Holley and went from there to Mortons, on Lake Ontario, where she spoke to two picnic parties.

Was there ever a time when so much was being done? Was there ever a time when so much was needed to be done?

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THE NATIONAL PETITION CAMPAIGN.

MRS. SHULER started the petition in Buffalo; from there is was taken to Batavia and thence to Rochester; Mrs. Clement sent it on by hand to Canandaigua where Mrs. Alfred Lewis of Geneva took it. On the 21st of July Mrs. Lewis will be met at Auburn, where it will be received by Miss Howland and given to a Syracuse delegate, who will take it from Auburn and on to Phoenix, whence it will be taken to Oneida and Utica. All the way to New York meetings will be held and names secured. In the meantime from all parts of the State separate petitions will be sent to the Headquarters.

STATE AND COUNTY FAIRS.

MISS ISABEL HOWLAND, Chairman of State Fair work, has engaged space at the grounds in Syracuse, where a tent and booth will be erected. She will need a great many helpers during Fair week. Cannot you, fellow-suffragist, help at least one day? Write to Miss Isabel Howland, Sherwood, N. Y., and tell her how much time you can give.

Mrs. Burrows is preparing the literature for the county fairs. Write and tell her how much you want for your own county. The State Association furnishes all you can use free, or simply for the express.

ALBANY COUNTY.

MRS. JOSEPH GAVIT, of Albany, has sent the following account of how her Club has extended the house-to-house canvassing which had been done in the city, into the country. She says: "Almost, if not all of the service is voluntary. Our method is as follows. An automobile filled with workers and stocked with literature is sent out to one of the Albany County villages, and the workers distribute literature to every house in the community. Within two weeks another descent is made upon the same community, with open-air speeches. In these towns the workers keep a sharp lookout for local co-workers. The aim is to find Captains in each of these communities for the Assembly District plan of organization. With these local workers, if we find them, or without them if we don't, we shall later make an enrollment canvass. The final touch to the plan is to have a booth, or tent, at the county fair, speeches every day, enrollment workers everywhere, and all the time. In this way we hope to cover the county by the first of September.

"We are fortunate in having two members of the Club whose automobiles are frequently at our disposal. Before the Summer is over we hope to find others. Several members of the Club are rapidly developing as public speakers. We have so far carried out our scheme without aid from outside. We have covered the settlements of Vorheesville, New Scotland, New Salem and Charlesville with literature, and held open-air meetings at Vorheesville. On Saturday, June 7th, we were unable to go out, because General Rosalie Jones was with us for work in Albany, but on that day we held seven open-air meetings in the city, at which a total of twenty-five speeches were made.

"We have two motives for sending this account to THE VOTER. If it is of any use to other workers anywhere, we shall be very glad. Secondly, if any suffragists in their journeyings to and fro come within hail of Albany County, come and help us with our open-air speeches. We will take you with us to the country, or improvise street-meetings in town. If you can stop over a day, or part of a day, notify Mrs. Joseph Gavit, 802 Myrtle Avenue, Albany, and she will see that your advances are met with open arms."

BROOME COUNTY.

BINGHAMTON has at last yielded to the suffrage enthusiasm which is in the air, and when "General" Jones was there the Opera House was crowded, and an overflow meeting was held on the portico of the Public Library. The President of the Common Council welcomed the speakers, Miss Jones and Miss MacKenzie. The meeting was under the auspices of the "Votes for Women" Club. Mrs. G. W. Topliff, the President, felt repaid for the hard work by the great audience, and by the many signatures secured for the petition.

DELAWARE COUNTY.

DELHI is a village of rare beauty and rare people. Such hospitality and such a welcome as it gives the visitor within its gates make the days spent there memorable.

On Saturday evening, July 5th, Mrs. Cannon entertained the Club on her spacious piazza. Miss Marie Preston, the President, presided, introducing the speakers and singers most gracefully. Music and refreshments followed an address by Miss Mills. From many years' experience in the field, I am sure that never was a week's campaign more perfectly planned and more effective for our great Cause than the one from July 8th to the 15th, as arranged by Mrs. Cannon.

On Monday, Mrs. Helen Brewster Owens, of Ithaca, Judicial District Chairman, joined us. On Tuesday night, at Walton, the opening meeting was held. There were three automobiles filled with speakers and decorated with yellow. When the cavalcade swept into a village everybody knew that something was going to happen. But our manager had previously visited every town, called upon all the leading citizens, engaged one of them to preside, secured the cooperation of the newspapers, mailed thousands of circulars and invitations, had posters put up, and, in short, employed every means of advertising. One of the features of the meetings was the fine music provided by Mrs. Cannon.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

MRS. GEORGE FORD CANNON and Miss Louise Gleason were invaluable and devoted assistants at each meeting. In the evening they sold souvenirs, gave out literature, enrolled hundreds of names and took collections.

The towns visited were Walton, Unadilla, Sidney, Bainbridge, Deposit, Franklin and Roxbury. Clubs were formed in Unadilla, Sidney and Deposit. At Walton the club members headed by Mrs. Lemmi, the President, were present. The recent large vote of the women there, which was due to the efforts of the club leaders, has made many converts among the men.

At Bainbridge an impromptu outdoor meeting was held and a number of names were secured. Mrs. Cannon is the Assembly District Chairman for Delaware County and has added a large enrollment to her membership by this campaign.

At Unadilla a wind and rain storm cut off the lights so lamps and candles were put into requisition, and we had our meeting in a dim religious light. The President of the Unadilla Club is Miss Lillian Teller, a Cornell graduate.

At Deposit, Miss Antoinette Cannon, who took her degree at Vassar, is President. Thus the young college women are taking up our work and insuring our success.

Three hundred miles by automobile, three new clubs organized, 600 names enrolled and seven meetings held is not a bad record for one week. The last one at Roxbury called out so large a crowd that standing room was at a premium.

We wish we were as confident of carrying the other counties in 1915 as we are of Delaware. The percentage of ignorance there is lower than in any other county of the State and the readiness of people to accept as well as to hear our gospel shows that they are, as a body, possessed of intelligence and a true faith in the principles of democracy.

A happy episode in connection with our meeting at Roxbury was a visit to the mountain home of John Burroughs. He has always believed in freedom for women and signed a suffrage slip for each one of us as a souvenir.

A GOOD SUGGESTION

Dear Ladies:—
If you'd win the men
'Round to your way of thinking
Discuss the question now and then,
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GREENE COUNTY.

MRS. MAY BELL MORGAN traveled through the county in June and had most cordial receptions and large meetings at each place visited. She obtained a large number of signatures.

KINGS COUNTY.

MRS. THERESE MEYER, of Ocean Hill, secured Young's Temple for a woman suffrage meeting in June. Although there was not a large audience, the workers felt that it was a good beginning. Mrs. Meyer presided, and a bevy of young women acted as ushers. Mrs. R. C. Talbot-Perkins, Mrs. Annie E. Merritt and Hon. Robert Baker made strong addresses.

LEWIS COUNTY.

MRS. MAY BELL MORGAN and Miss Alice R. Pierson went into the county the second week of July and began their organization work in Lowville. There they found many supporters and with Mrs. Barney helping them, they had a large meeting in the Court House on the 9th. Mrs. MacGregor Phillips was Chairman and both the organizers made telling speeches. As a result a Club has been started in Lowville, and Mrs. Phillips has consented to act as Assembly District leader. They went also to Croghan and had a meeting in the schoolhouse, where they got 40 signatures. The young people there are about to organize a Junior League. They held meetings also in Beaver Falls and Lyons Falls; at the latter place a Club wos organized with fourteen charter members. Mrs. L. L. Merriam is President. Miss Pierson will remain a month in Lewis County.

MONROE COUNTY.

ROCHESTER is now on the list of those cities having Headquarters, and very commodious and tasteful ones. There are two rooms, where can be found suffrage leaflets and a large number of exchanges and magazines. This much-alive organization has not only taken part in all the parades and pageants in the neighborhood, but it also held a large picnic in one of the city parks. Their most effective work, however, was a float representing suffrage, which joined in the parade of the "Water Carnival" on the Genesee River. During the Firemen's Convention several street meetings were held, and Miss Florence Roberts assisted the Club by speaking a number of times.

NASSAU COUNTY.

MRS. WILMER R. KEARNS, who went down to Long Beach in the "Revolutionary wagon," made a novel use of the voiceless speech there on July 4th, going into the surf and displaying it at the most crowded points. She reports that the people treated her and the speech with respect and attention, and she advises others to try this method of presenting suffrage arguments. As she had her little daughter with her, she showed that one can be at once a careful mother and an ardent suffragist. At the same time Miss Florence M. Harmon, Mrs. Maud Swartz and Miss Irene Davison were speaking on the beach, and each had to speak at least three times, the crowd was so enormous.

Miss Irene Davison and Mrs. Wilmer R. Kearns repeated at the Firemen's Tournament at Valley Stream the success they had on the same occasion in Patchogue. Mrs. Talbot-Perkins and Mrs. Robert Elder came from Brooklyn with two automobiles filled with suffrage workers. There were open-air speeches and much was sold. The Chief of the Firemen carried one of the yellow flags as he rode at the head of the procession.

ONONDAGA COUNTY.

AT SYRACUSE, Mrs. Morris W. Chase of Summit Avenue has taken the Chairmanship of the Executive Committee and is making things hum during the Summer. A food sale is held every Friday at the headquarters and a goodly sum is cleared each week.

ORANGE COUNTY.

THE CORNWALL Equal Suffrage Club has sent a most encouraging report of its one year of existence, and is full of courage for the future. It was organized a year ago in June, with eleven members, Mrs. Sidney Sherwood, President. Meetings were held regularly all Winter, and in January the canvassing of the four districts of Cornwall was begun and is still going on. In February a room in the "Old Homestead" was rented as Headquarters, and there is a small library of suffrage literature. Miss Mills, the State President, congratulated them on being the first Club in a small town to secure Headquarters. The membership is now twenty-two. All expenses have been met. there is a small balance in the treasury, and a contribution was sent to the Washington Parade Committee. Though one of the youngest Clubs in the State Association, it certainly is vigorous.

QUEENS COUNTY.

MRS. R. C. TALBOT-PERKINS had charge of the suffrage demonstration at the Rockaways on the Fourth of July. In a gaily decorated automobile donated by Mrs. J. Hedges Crowell, she and friends starting at Far Rockaway at 2 o'clock, stopped at Arverne, Hammel, Seaside and ended their trip at Rockaway Park at 6 o'clock. Everywhere there were large crowds who listened most respectfully and bought and contributed generously. The next night they held a large open-air meeting on the beach at Seaside, where they reached large numbers of people.

Mrs. Wilmer R. Kearns and Miss Irene Davison of East Rockaway have been making picturesque trips around New York, in a Revolutionary wagon, dating from 1776. The women were dressed in Colonial costume and covered the wagon with suffrage signs, which attracted much good-natured comment. After several trips on Long Island they plan to go down to Washington, carrying one of the petitions to Congress. The wagon has been formally presented to the State Association for use during the campaign by the Remsen Company of Brooklyn. Mr. F. R. Wilson of the firm is the owner.

SUFFOLK COUNTY.

MISS PORTIA WILLIS has been hard at work in Patchogue organizing the Assembly District work. With the assistance of Mrs. Raymond Brown, a large meeting was held on the lawn of Mrs. Wilmot Smith's house, which was lighted by Chinese lanterns. Later the suffragists will give a "yellow ball" to the workers of the large lace mill and their friends.

The Political Equality League of Huntington is fortunate in having among its members women who have made a business of scientific housekeeping and farming, and one day the Club went out to visit them. The first stop was at Greenlawn, the home of Mrs. Christine Frederick, Consulting Household Editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Here the members were shown over the "model kitchen," in which is every labor-saving device for housewives. These were thoroughly appreciated by the visitors, all of them mothers and housekeepers. The homeward journey brought them to the house of another member, who personally cares for her successful garden, orchard and bees. Still further on they came to the home of the scientific farmer member, who directs the work on her farm.

SULLIVAN COUNTY.

THE Headquarters in Monticello in a house given by Mrs. Rudolf Muller, has struck a great blow for suffrage in a town where it has heretofore been an unpopular cause. The energetic women in charge have kept something going all the time: teas, dances, meetings, street speaking, and finally entirely won over the inhabitants by a parade. The people decorated

their houses and stores along the line of march, and the whole town turned out to see the women. A silver loving cup for the most effective costume was given to a mother and baby. General Jones and her band helped to make the affair a success. This good work will go on all Summer.

TOMPKINS COUNTY CONVENTION.

MRS. HELEN BREWSTER OWENS, President, arranged the county convention for the 18th of July at Ithaca. Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, of Chicago, with laurels of the Illinois victory still on her brow, and the State President were the speakers.

ULSTER COUNTY.

Mrs. Morgan went into Ulster County in June, and held large meetings in all parts of the county, men enrolling signers and distributing literature.

WASHINGTON COUNTY.

LAST month Miss Mills and Mrs. Anna Gay Lake, the County President, held afternoon and evening meetings in Fort Edward, and organized a splendid new Club, of which Mrs. Edwin Van Rensselaer Payne is President. Mrs. Lucy P. Allen of Easton arranged the meetings at Ft. Edward and spoke, as did Mrs. Lake. Many well-known people of the town are enlisted and it is expected that the Club will be most successful.

WESTCHESTER COUNTY.

MISS PORTIA WILLIS went to Harrison in June and spent a week organizing, with great success. She held a crowded meeting in the Clubhouse, Mrs. Florence of Rye meeting the deficit between the rent and the collection. At this meeting she secured sixty-eight signatures. The wife and family of Congressman Taylor are all in favor of suffrage, and his sister, Mrs. Schenckeisen, was made Captain of her Election District at a meeting at her house on July 11th. Mrs. Henry A. Robinson of Yonkers spoke, and everyone present signed the slips. Mrs. Osterheld explained the Assembly District formation, and a District Club was at once formed.

♣ ♣ ♣

A rapid-fire canvass of one of the wards of Yonkers was made by Mrs. T. B. McIntire, who called together a committee of nine women at Headquarters, recently, and started them out at 9 o'clock in the morning. An interpreter was taken along, as it was an Italian quarter, and the women were so readily persuaded of the good the vote would do them that they signed the slips almost without exception. At the end of the day the entire ward had been canvassed, and the workers had not only gained some very valuable information as to political conditions, but they had incidentally learned much of the social conditions.

♣ ♣ ♣

In Yonkers, on the 14th, at the home of Mrs. Henry Robinson, the Rev. Dr. C. C. Pierce, from Los Angeles, spoke on the political conditions in California, and refuted the statements made recently by Miss Alice Hill Chittenden. He had a large audience which was thoroughly convinced of his truthfulness and experience.

♣ ♣ ♣

Mrs. E. M. Childs, leader of the Fourth Assembly District, has been canvassing the northern section of her district. She and Miss Portia Willis made an all-day automobile trip, stopping at farms, hotels, the homes of local politicians and others, securing enrollments and Captains for the various Election Districts. They found it a delightful experience and a most successful method of work.

♣ ♣ ♣

TO EVERY READER OF "THE WOMAN VOTER AND NEWSLETTER."

Can women vote on questions of special tax in your city or village? If so, has a special tax proposition come up for vote during the past year? If there has been such an election held, send at once a brief report of it to your State Chairman of Tax Suffrage, stating the proposition submitted, the total number of votes cast and the number of women who voted. The value of her report, which will be given at the next State Convention, depends upon your thoughtfulness in sending in your report. Don't let a village be left out where women have voted.

Address, LUCY H. CALKINS,
Chairman of Tax Suffrage for the N. Y. State Woman's Suffrage Association.
310 S. Albany Street, Ithaca, N. Y.

FREEDOM, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.

Looking over the birthday honors recently bestowed in England, I paused to wonder why no name of woman ever figures on that honorable list. Soap makers, candle manufacturers, brewers, artists and actors, men who have won fame to add to the glory of their country, are honored and made knights. They talk boastfully of British fairplay and their gallantry to women. Why is it, can anyone tell me, that some of their great women are not honored. Surely they have great women! Women who will go down in history. Women who have won fame on the stage, in opera, literature, in art, social reform. Names I could mention, who rank as man's equal and in many cases much higher. It will be a great day for England, and she will have advanced another step in her civilization, when she honors her great women as she does her great men.

HENRY PRICE.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE SENTIMENTS.

A delicate Angora cat
Had whiskers; but, pray, what of that?
"I don't want to vote,"
To a friend she once wrote:
"My place is at home on the mat."

"Let me hold the umbrella, my dear,"
Mrs. Hen said to kind Chanticleer.
"'Tis man's privilege, love."
And he held it above
His own head, so it dripped in her ear.

—GERTRUDE BUCK, *The Masses.*

♣ ♣ ♣

WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY.

TO LEADERS:

Reports from the districts show that the Summer work consists chiefly of street meetings. To avoid repetition and a certain sameness, Miss Sterling has combined them into an article on Street Meetings, which will take the place of the regular Assembly District items.

Since the Woman Suffrage Party publishes no annual report, we try to summarize its progress in THE VOTER from time to time, Last year we published the story of the Bronx; with this issue we take pelasure in presenting Mrs. Comstock's survey of the movement in Brooklyn. In September we shall review progress in Manhattan, and later Queens and Richmond will be represented. (*Editor.*)

♣ ♣ ♣

Two kinds of Voiceless Speeches may now be had at Headquarters for $1.50 each. They are printed on strong white paper and bound for turning. Sent by express if desired.

♣ ♣ ♣

"As soon as we get the new view of government—that of service—incorporated into our minds, it will do much to alter the objection to giving women the ballot."—CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN.

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The Woman Suffrage Party

The Woman Suffrage Party is an organization which seeks to unite, and utilize through political channels, the entire equal suffrage force in the City of New York. Its aim is to secure the submission of a woman suffrage amendment to the State Constitution and its adoption at the polls. To this end it is proposed:

1. To diffuse among voters and non-voters a wider knowledge and deeper understanding of the underlying justice and expedience of woman's demand for the ballot.
2. To enlist the active co-operation of men and women by means of a systematic, vigorous, educational campaign.
3. To conduct a non-partisan campaign with the object of securing the pledges of all candidates for the Legislature to vote in favor of the submission of the woman suffrage amendment; to hold Assembly District, County and City Conventions when deemed expedient; to nominate candidates for the Legislature and secure a place on the official ballot by petition, should an adverse attitude of the Legislature render such action necessary.

The women of New York will not be able to vote until a bill authorizing an amendment to the State Constitution has passed the Legislature of 1915, and the amendment has been ratified by a majority vote at the polls.

To meet this situation, the Woman Suffrage Party proposes to conduct a constructive, systematic, thorough campaign in the City of New York which will reach every man and woman in it. It will endeavor to enroll as members all men and women in each Assembly District who believe that women should vote in order that the rapidly growing sentiment in favor of equal suffrage may be united into a definite, positive force.

The Woman Suffrage Party is organized by Districts in imitation of the plan followed by political parties, that a practical demonstration may be given to our legislators and political parties that there is a decided public opinion in their constituencies which demands suffrage for women.

No obligation of money or work is laid upon enrolled members of the Woman Suffrage Party, but all such will be notified of meetings to be held in their Assembly Districts, and of the annual District Conventions at which Assembly District Officers will be elected and Borough and City Officers nominated.

While work is not a necessary qualification for membership in the Woman Suffrage Party, yet, all believers in the cause are urged to activity. A woman suffrage club will be formed in each Assembly District and its members will pay regular dues.

New York must be converted; its intelligence must be convinced of the reasonableness of our demand; its conscience must be touched by the needs of women, and it must be made to feel that the enfranchisement of women is only another battle in the world's long struggle for human freedom.

The essential need at this time is numbers. We invite every suffragist in the City of New York to devote his and her zeal, enthusiasm and energy in helping to build up the Woman Suffrage Party in order that our great cause may triumph.

CALENDAR FOR AUGUST.

Aug. 1st.—Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 145th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Aug. 2d.—Queens Borough, meetings at various points. 3 P. M. to 10 P. M.

Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, St. Nicholas Avenue and 181st Street. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 25th Assembly District. Street meeting, Union Square near Washington Monument. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 17th Assembly District. Street meeting, 96th Street and Broadway. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 8th Assembly District. Street meeting, Rivington and Essex Streets. 8 P. M. Jewish.

Aug. 4th.—Manhattan, 13th Assembly District. Street meeting, 57th Street and Eighth Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, 157th Street and Broadway. 8 P. M.

Manhattan, 27th Assembly District. Street meeting, 45th Street and Broadway. 8:15 P. M.

Aug. 4th—Manhattan, 31st Assembly District. Street meeting, 125th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Aug. 5th.—Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, 207th Street and Sherman Avenue. 3 P. M.

Manhattan, 25th Assembly District. Street meeting, Union Square near Washington Monument. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 15th Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway at 84th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Aug. 6th.—Manhattan, 12th Assembly District. Street meeting, 8th Street and Avenue C. 4 P. M.

Manhattan, 2d Assembly District. Street meeting, Broad and Beaver Streets. Noon.

Brooklyn, 10th Assembly District. Street meeting, Pacific Street and Underhill Avenue. 8 P. M.

Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting on Seventh Avenue and between 134th Street and 139th Street. 8 P. M.

Aug. 7th.—Manhattan, 12th Assembly District. Street meeting, 12th Street, between First and Avenue A. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, Seventh Avenue and 145th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 6th Assembly District. Street meeting, Avenue C and Fifth Street. 8 P. M. Hungarian and Jewish.

Aug. 8th.—Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, 145th Street and Broadway. 8:15 P. M.

Aug. 9th.—Manhattan, 17th Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 96th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, St. Nicholas Avenue and 181st Street. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 25th Assembly District. Street meeting, Union Square near Washington Monument. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 8th Assembly District. Street meeting, Rivington and Clinton Streets. 8 P. M. Jewish.

Aug. 11th.—Manhattan, 13th Assembly District. Street meeting, 57th Street and Eighth Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 157th Street. 8 P. M.

Manhattan, 27th Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 45th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 31st Assembly District. Street meeting, 125th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 27th Assembly District. Street meeting, 45th Street and Broadway.

Aug. 12th.—Manhattan. 15th Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 84th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, Sherman Avenue and 207th Street. 3 P. M.

Manhattan, 25th Assembly District. Street meeting, Union Square near Washington Monument. 8:15 P. M.

Aug. 13th.—Manhattan, 12th Assembly District. Street meeting, 14th Street and Avenue C. 4 P. M.

Aug. 13.—Manhattan, 2d Assembly District. Street meeting, William and Wall Streets. 12 o'clock noon.

Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, 139th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, Sherman Avenue and 207th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Brooklyn, 10th Assembly District. Street meeting, Underhill Avenue and St. Mark's Avenue. 8 P. M.

Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, Seventh Avenue, and between 134th Street and 139th Street. 8 P. M.

Aug. 14th.—Manhattan, 12th Assembly District. Street meeting, 12th Street and Second Avenue.

Manhattan, 23d Assembly District Street meeting, 145th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Aug. 15th.—Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 145th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Aug. 16th.—Manhattan, 17th Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 96th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, St. Nicholas Avenue and 181st Street. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 25th Assembly District. Street meeting, Union Square near Washington Monument. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 4th Assembly District. Street meeting, Grand and Pitt Streets. 8 P. M. English and Jewish.

Aug. 18th.—Manhattan, 13th Assembly District. Street meeting, 57th Street and Eighth Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, 157th Street and Broadway. 8 P. M.

Manhattan, 27th Assembly District. Street meeting, 45th Street and Broadway. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 31st Assembly District. Street meeting, 125th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 27th Assembly District. Street meeting, 45th Street and Broadway. 8:15 P. M.

Aug. 19th.—Manhattan, 15th Assembly District. Street meeting, 84th Street and Broadway. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, Sherman Avenue and 207th Street. 3 P. M.

Manhattan, 25th Assembly District. Street meeting, Union Square near Washington Monument. 8:15 P. M.

Aug. 20th.—Manhattan, 12th Assembly District. Street meeting, 14th Street, between Avenue A and Avenue B. 4 P. M.

Manhattan, 2d Assembly District. Street meeting, Liberty and Gold Streets. Noon.

Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, 139th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, 207th Street and Sherman Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Brooklyn, 10th Assembly District. Street meeting, Lafayette and Fulton Streets. 8 P. M.

Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting on Seventh Avenue and between 134th and 139th Streets. 8 P. M.

Aug. 21.—Manhattan, 12th Assembly District. Street meeting, Stuyvesant Street opposite St. Marks. 8:15 P. M.

Aug. 21.—Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, Seventh Avenue and 145th Steet. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 6th Assembly District. Street meeting, Avenue D and Houston Street. 8 P. M. Hungarian and Jewish.

Aug. 22d.—Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 145th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Aug. 23d.—Manhattan, 23d Assemby District. Street meeting, St. Nicholas Avenue and 181st Street. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 25th Assembly District. Street meeting, Union Square, near Washington Monument. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 17th Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 96th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 4th Assembly District. Street meeting, Grand and Pitt Streets. 8 P. M. English and Jewish.

Aug. 25th.—Manhattan, 13th Assembly District. Street meeting, 57th Street and Eighth Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, 157th Street and Broadway. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 27th Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 45th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 31st Assembly District. Street meeting, 125th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 27th Assembly District. Street meeting, 45th Street and Broadway. 8:15 P. M.

Aug. 26th.—Manhattan, 15th Assembly District. Street meeting, 84th Street and Broadway. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, 207th Street and Sherman Avenue. 3 P. M.

Manhattan, 25th Assembly District. Street meeting, Union Square, near Washington Monument. 8:15 P. M.

Aug. 29th.—Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, 145th Street and Broadway. 8:15 P. M.

Aug. 30th.—Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, St. Nicholas Avenue and 181st Street. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 25th Assembly District. Street meeting, Union Square, near Washington Monument. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 17th Assembly District. Street meeting, Broadway and 96th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 4th Assembly District. Street meeting, Grand and Pitt Streets. 8 P. M. English and Jewish.

Aug. 27th.—Manhattan, 12th Assembly District. Street meeting, 10th Street, between Avenue A and Avenue B. 4 P. M.

Manhattan, 2d Assembly District. Street meeting, William and Fulton Streets. Noon.

Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, 139th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 23d Assembly District. Street meeting, Sherman Avenue and 207th Street. 8:15 P. M.

Brooklyn, 10th Assembly District. Street meeting, Grand Avenue and Bergen Street. 8 P. M.

Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, on Seventh Avenue, and between 134th and 139th Streets. 8 P. M.

Aug. 28th.—Manhattan, 12th Assembly District. Street meeting, 12th Street and Avenue B. 8:15 P. M.

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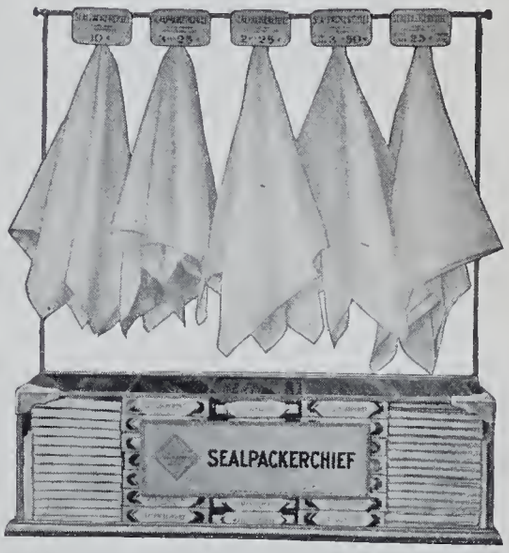

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